SOME NEW BOOKS.

Napoleon's Relations to Women.

One of the latest additions to the Napoleonic literature of which this year has witnessed such an outpour is a book entitled *Napoleon, Lover and Husband*, by FREDERIC MASSON, of which an English translation has been published by the Merriam Company. From one point of view, it may be said that a compilation of this sort is superfluous, seeing that women counted for very little in Napoleon's life, even his marriage with Marie Louise having been dictated by reasons of State. Fugitive relations no doubt he had, but he had no idea of installing formally a favorite. "I do not wish women to govern in my court," he said upon one occasion. "Their influence was harmful to Henry IV. and Louis XIV. My mission is more important than was theirs, and the French have become too serious to pardon scandalous liaisons on the part of their sovereigns." His real mistress, as he often said, was power, and he had worked too hard to attain it to permit it to be stolen. Nevertheless, the facts brought together in this volume throw light upon the character of Napoleon considered as a man, and one of the love affairs here chronicled was of historical importance, because it resulted in the proof that he was capable of begetting a child and thereby removed the last barrier to a divorce of Josephine.

I.

Up to the age of twenty-six it appears that Napoleon had never conceived a serious affection for any woman. With the exception of Mme. Turreau, the wife of a delegate of the Convention to the Army of Italy in 1794, women seemed to have paid but scant attention to the little, pale, thin officer, who was always badly dressed and regardless of his appearance. His early love affairs when investigated resolve themselves into trivial flirtations or vulgar adventures. He thought, in truth, but little about women, being absorbed in ambitious projects, and there was another reason for his chastity, to wit, his extreme poverty. While at Marseilles, however, in the beginning of 1795, Napoleon played at love with Mme. Joseph Bonaparte's sister, Desirée-Eugénie Clary, then a pretty girl of sixteen; she believed his attentions to be serious. Sixty-five years later the rough drafts of her letters to him were found among her effects; they show that at the time she entertained for him an ardent and sincere affection. "Oh, my friend," Mlle. Clary wrote in one of these letters, "take care of yourself for my sake, for I could not live without you; guard as sacredly as I shall the promise which binds us, for were it broken, I should die." There was no opposition to the marriage, for Joseph and his wife had long desired it, and Desirée's father, who is reported to have said that "one Bonapart in the family was quite enough for him," had died more than a year before, and the remaining members of the Clary family readily yielded to the young girl's wishes. For some time after Bonaparte's arrival in Paris in May, 1795, he sent affectionate messages to Desirée, and urged his brother Joseph to have a date fixed for the wedding, but eventually the fascinating capital which he had entered with a worn-out uniform, leaky boots, and a suite composed of a couple of hungry aide-de-camps, interposed itself and its captivating women between him and the little Marseillaise. "In Paris alone," wrote Napoleon, "live women capable of holding the helm. A woman should live six months in Paris to learn what is her just due, and where her rightful domain." A few days later he wrote: "The women here, who are certainly the most beautiful in the world, play a great rôle in all the affairs of life." It is certain that the young officer, who had nothing except his hand to offer, tendered that freely, first to Mme. de Permon, then to Mme. de la Bouchargie; later to Mme. de Lesparda, and, finally, to Mme. de Beauharnais, who took him at his word. During all this time he never wrote to Desirée Clary, who, at last, having heard of his marriage, lifted her voice in complaint, but so gently that, to the author of this book, it sounds like the strains of an Æolian harp. "You have broken my heart," she said, "yet I am weak enough to forgive you everything. You are married, and I have no longer the right to love and think of you; the only consolation which remains for me is to be assured of your belief in my constancy; then I long for death, for life is a burden, now that I may not consecrate it to you. I cannot accustom myself to the thought that you are married—it is too hard, too bitter. I will prove to you that I am more faithful to my engagement than you to yours, and, though you have broken the chain which united us, I shall hold it binding; I shall never marry. I wish you every happiness and all prosperity in your marriage, and I hope that the woman you have chosen will make you as happy as I had meant to do, and as you deserve; but, in the midst of your happiness, remember poor Eugénie and pity her sad fate." Forgetfulness was foreign to Bonaparte's nature, and the memory of this love which he had inspired was always a tender point with him; throughout his life he strove to right the wrong and win forgiveness. Desirée, on her part, refused several offers, but eventually accepted Gen. Bernadotte. The news of this marriage reached Bonaparte at Cairo, and, although Bernadotte was his enemy and the union displeased him, he wrote most kindly to Desirée, wishing her all happiness. When he returned from Egypt, the first person to solicit a favor was Mme. Bernadotte, who asked him to stand godfather to her infant son. Intuitively she knew that a son was the one thing lacking to complete Napoleon's happiness, and, as if to spite Josephine, whom she hated, and whom she always spoke of as the "old woman," Desirée boasted of her maternity. Bonaparte granted her request, and with Ossian's martial ballads in mind, named the baby Oscar. Years later he said: "Bernadotte's becoming a Marshal of France, Prince of Pontecorvo, and King of Sweden was all owing to his marriage with my first sweetheart." It was for her sake that he pardoned her husband's disloyalty during the empire, forgave him after Auerstaedt, Wagram, and Walcheren, condoning military mistakes which were probably something worse than blunders, coming as they did on top of a flagrant conspiracy in which Bernadotte, Fouché, and Talleyrand, in complicity with the Royalists, brought into play the same tactics by which, in 1814, the return of Louis XVIII. was effected. Although Mme. Bernadotte herself would never appear at court, for she detested Josephine and the entire Beauharnais family, and was at no pains to conceal her dislike, Napoleon showered gifts upon her. He presented her with priceless Sévres vases and Gobelin tapestries, and it was for her that he reserved one of the three magnificent fur pelisses which the Emperor of Russia presented to him after Erfurt; it is certain, however, that his friendship was entirely disinterested.

II.

The account given of Josephine in this book does not leave a pleasant impression. It seems that her marriage at the age of 16 to the Viscount de Beauharnais was arranged by her aunt, who was living openly with the Marquis de Beauharnais, the bridegroom's father. From the time she first came to Paris in 1779, Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie led a wretched existence; deceived and abandoned by her husband, and finally separated from him, she had no social distractions; she was never presented at court, for she lived with her aunt, whose position was equivocal, and it was said that, after her separation from her husband, she had made a bad use of her liberty. Returning to Martinique, where she was born, she remained there until her safety was threatened by the insurrection of the blacks, when she escaped to France, and, becoming reconciled with M. de Beauharnais, enjoyed a brief period of happiness. Then came the Reign of Terror; Beauharnais was imprisoned and guillotined, and she herself escaped only by a miracle. When released from prison in 1793 she was 31 years of age, the mother of two children, and penniless. With some money, however, which she received from Martinique or borrowed from acquaintances, and with the debts which she contracted in every direction, she managed, for a while, to keep up appearances. From the wife of Talma, the actor, she rented for $800 a year in specie a small mansion in the Rue Chantereine, where she installed herself in October, 1794. At the end of a year she found herself in a desperate position; her credit was exhausted and age was creeping on; it was at this critical moment that Gen. Bonaparte rang the bell of her house to return the visit which she had made to thank him for restoring to her son his father's sword. Napoleon did not know that the house, which was rather imposing in appearance, was the property of Citizeness Talma, who had received it as the price of her favors to a lover; nor that this property in an out-of-the-way corner of Paris was worth only ten thousand dollars. Much less did he know that Mme. de Beauharnais, whom he regarded as a type of the aristocracy, could only receive him in the dining room, where, except on festive occasions, she ate off earthenware; that the table linen was composed of eight table cloths, and that the whole supply of household linen would be subsequently appraised at 80 cents; or that the elegant and charming woman who stood before him possessed scarcely enough underwear to clothe her decently.

The portrait of Josephine which the author of this book proceeds to sketch has an air of trustworthiness, though it is scarcely flattering. Her hair, it seems, was brown, of a fine quality, but not overluxuriant; her complexion was rather dark, and already somewhat faded, but art concealed the ravages of time; her teeth were poor, but were never displayed, and she had an attractive little mouth, which was always curved in a slight smile, the sweetness of which accorded with the exceeding softness of her eyes, with her gentle expression, and the touching quality of her voice, to catch a sound of which the servants in later years loitered in the corridors of the Tuileries. Her nose was small, with sensitive, quivering nostrils, and slightly inclined to be retroussé. Her head and face, however, were not to be compared with her tall, supple body, which terminated in slender, arched feet, whose beauty may yet be divined by a glance at the shoes she used to wear. Her form was unfettered; she did not even wear a girdle to support the bosom, which was small and firm. Unquestionably she possessed a charm and grace peculiarly her own; long practice had rendered her every movement winsome; she never missed an advantage, was constantly on her guard, left nothing to chance, and, above all, had the indefinable and captivating nonchalance of the creole, while about her floated like a perfume the sensuality which makes the creole woman superlatively feminine and irresistible to man. Napoleon, younger and more inexperienced than the majority of men of his years, was peculiarly susceptible to this; it was this which had appealed to him at their first meeting, even while she dazzled him by her imposing manner, which he naïvely spoke of as being "that calm and dignified demeanor which belongs to the old régime." Mme. De Beauharnais saw that the young officer was captivated, and when he called, day after day, comprehended that her empire over him was absolute. Seeing her surrounded by men of the old court, who were his superiors by rank and birth, Ségur, Montesquieu, and Caulaincourt, he failed to perceive that they came to her house as bachelors, never bringing their wives with them. As a matter of fact, the social position of the lady, like her luxuries, were all delusions, but his senses aiding, they were accepted by Napoleon as realities. A fortnight after his first visit they were lovers, and they seem to have loved passionately. Such love was natural enough on his part, and, at first, perhaps, also upon hers, for Bonaparte was a new toy, a savage to be tamed, and the lion of the day. To a woman like Josephine, no longer in her first youth—a creole of thirty-two is twenty or twenty-five years years older than a northern woman—Napoleon's ardor, intense passion, burning kisses, and constant craving for her presence were the most flattering of tributes, for they proved that she was still beautiful and able to please. All this made him attractive as a lover, but hardly recommended him as a husband, for, as a notary told her, he was as poor as a church mouse. However, when he offered himself he was accepted, for she was in a desperate predicament and had nothing to lose by the marriage, while it presented at least a chance of betterment. About her fortune she deceived Napoleon, and, what could be more easily forgiven, she dissimulated about her age, declaring to the civil officer who performed the marriage that she was four years younger than she was. Two days afterward Bonaparte left Paris to join the army in Italy, while his newly wedded wife remained at her home in the Rue Chantereine. From every post house on the road to Nice he despatched to her a letter in which there was naught but love; ambition found no place in it; there was no reference to his plans, no uncertainty regarding the future. It is well known that Josephine put off joining him as long as she could, and that both in Paris, and afterward in Italy, she showed that she had become bored by his devotion, and did not recognize the duty of fidelity. She carried with her to Lombardy her lover, M. Charles, with whom later, during her husband's absence in Egypt, she maintained at Paris undisguised relations.

III.

It was on his way to Alexandria that Bonaparte first learned of her indiscretions, and, although he subsequently forgave her, the illusion under which he had lived was dispelled, and he no longer deemed fidelity on his part an obligation. At Cairo he was attracted by a young Frenchwoman Marguerite Bellisle, who had married a Lieutenant Fourés, and accompanied him to Egypt. Her husband presently received an order to embark for Italy as the bearer of despatches to the Directory, and, the day after his departure Bonaparte gave a dinner at which Mme. Fourés occupied the seat of honor. The host was most attentive, but toward the end of the repast, with apparent awkwardness, he upset a carafe of ice water over her, and, rising, with many apologies, led the way to another room, under pretext of assisting her to rearrange her disordered toilet. A chronicler of the times recounts that "they paid some regard to appearances, but, unfortunately, their absence was so prolonged that the guests who remained at table entertained some doubts as to the genuineness of the accident." They had still more cause for doubt when a house adjoining the General's residence was hastily furnished and the fair Marguerite installed therein. Scarcely was she settled, however, in her new abode, when her husband returned in a furious temper. To escape his rage she petitioned for a divorce, which was pronounced by a military court, and Fourés was again despatched to France. After her divorce, Mme. Fourés, who had reassumed her maiden name of Bellisle, paraded herself as Bonaparte's favorite. About her neck she habitually wore a long chain, to which hung her lover's miniature. It was, in truth, a public liaison, at which no one manifested any astonishment. She was often seen driving with Bonaparte, while the aide-de-camp on duty trotted by the side of the carriage, Eugéne de Beauharnais like the rest—the latter, however, soon rebelled against escorting his stepfather's mistress, and was excused from that service, though he was still retained as aide-de-camp. So deeply enamored was Bonaparte of Marguerite Bellisle that he did not conceal from her his intention of repudiating Josephine, and even meditated marrying her should she bear him a child; but, as he laughingly remarked, "The little idiot does not know enough to have a baby," which being repeated to her drew forth the retort, "Who knows if I am the idiot?" During the Syrian expedition Marguerite remained at Cairo, and Bonaparte wrote her the tenderest letters, and when, after Aboukir, he set out for France, he left orders that she was to rejoin him as soon as possible. Gen. Kleber, however, did not take that view of the situation. He had succeeded Bonaparte in command, and apparently regarded Mme. Fourés as one of the perquisites of the position. At all events, he threw obstacle after obstacle in the way of her departure. When she reached her native land the reconciliation between Bonaparte and Josephine was an accomplished fact, and her lover had been transformed into the First Consul of the republic, a position which rendered it incumbent upon him to set the country the example of a dignified and upright life. Napoleon firmly refused to see her, but gave her as much money as she demanded. He presented her with 60,000 francs out of the appropriation for theatres, bought a château for her in the suburbs of Paris, and arranged a marriage between her and M. de Ranchoup, an ex-infantry officer, and the scion of a good Auvergne family; the husband received as a wedding present a vice-consulship at Santander, from which he was promoted to a consulate at Gothenburg. It is a noteworthy fact that Mme. de Ranchoup led a cheerful, contented existence until March, 1869, when she died at the age of 92. She retained all her faculties unimpaired to the last; wrote novels, played on the harp, and painted; bought pictures; kept up her friendship with the women she had known in other days, and even made new friends, among others, Rosa Bonheur. Before she died she burned every letter which had been written to her by Bonaparte.

IV.

Of the many ephemeral mistresses imputed to Napoleon in this volume only one dealt a deadly blow to Josephine. Up to the advent of Mme. Revel, although the project of divorce had often been discussed, it had never taken a definite form, owing to the doubt whether a second marriage would not also prove childless. After he became Emperor, however, Napoleon's desire for an heir became a consuming one, and he often indulged in harsh and bitter speeches which testified to his disappointment. Publicly he threw all the blame upon his wife, but recalling Mme. Fourés and many others, none of whom had borne him children, he entertained secret misgivings touching the justice of the aspersion he cast upon her; misgivings, which Josephine stimulated by talking incessantly of *her* children, and forcing Eugéne and Hortense continually upon his notice. She harped so much upon the subject that Mme. Bacciochi lost all patience, and one day silenced her by remarking: "There may be something in what you say; but remember, sister, when those children saw the light you were much younger than you are now." The majority of the family, however, were prevailed upon to accept Josephine's view of the situation, and Napoleon himself did not combat it vigorously. On several occasions he said to his brother Joseph: "I am childless; you all think me impotent, and Josephine, despite her anxiety, is not likely to bear children now; so after me the deluge." When Lucien, on his return from Spain, preached divorce, and suggested the advisability of a marriage with an Infanta, Napoleon rejected the proposition, and it is suggested that the strongest of his motives may have been of a personal and private nature. He may have reasoned that, while a union with a Bourbon Princess would unquestionably further his ambitious schemes, it was foolish to struggle for a throne if unable to transmit his name and glory to a son. Toward the close of 1806 all his doubts upon this subject were removed. About a year previously he had been much attracted by a Mme. Revel, whose husband had been condemned to imprisonment for passing a forged check, but who, having been a school fellow of Caroline Bonaparte's at Mme. Campan's, was appointed a reader in Mme. Murat's household, and here in January, 1806, Napoleon met her. As soon as propositions on his part were made to her she accepted them, and allowed herself to be conducted to the Tuileries; thenceforth she went there habitually, spending two or three hours at a time in the Emperor's society. In April, 1806, Mme. Revel asked for a divorce and gained it. It was high time, for in December of the same year she was delivered of a male child, who was registered as "Leon, son of Mlle. Eleonore Denuelle [Mme. Revel's maiden name], property holder, aged twenty, and of an absent father." There was no doubt as to the child's parentage; moreover, its resemblance to Napoleon was so striking as to render skepticism impossible. Thus the event which Josephine had so dreaded came to pass, for henceforth the Emperor entertained no apprehensions regarding his ability to provide an heir to the throne. The child Leon was, at first, confided to the care of the foster mother of Achille Murat. Later, in 1812, M. de Mauvières, Baron of the Empire, and father-in-law of Méneval, the Emperor's private secretary, was appointed guardian to the boy, and an independent fortune was settled upon him by his imperial father. Not content with this, Napoleon, in January, 1814, when about to leave Paris to join the army, authorized the Duc de Bassano to add to the previous settlement an income of 12,000 francs, to which, on June 21, 1815, he joined canal stock, valued at 100,000 francs, and finally the Emperor inserted in his will a codicil bequeathing to Leon 320,000 francs for the purchase of a country seat. To avoid a rupture with Josephine, to whom he was still sincerely attached, and, at the same time, to comply with the law of heredity in a manner which seemed to him satisfactory and natural, Napoleon conceived the idea of adopting this natural son, spoke of it to the Empress, and evoked precedents to justify his inclination. That he did not carry this plan into execution is due probably to the fact that he realized that the days of Louis XIV. were past, and that the country would not permit him to follow the example given by that monarch, who had designated the Duc de Maine and the Comte de Toulouse as among the heirs to the throne. It is certain that Napoleon became very much attached to this child, and that, at the time of his second abdication, he recommended him to the care of his mother and Cardinal Fesch. Mme. Letitia Bonaparte was already interested in her grandson and disposed to do a great deal for him, but he was not of a character to inspire warm affection. At the age of 25 he was already nearly ruined and applied for assistance to the Cardinal, swearing that he would never again lose 45,000 francs at a sitting. It was a gambler's oath, for a year later he was as badly off as ever and engaging right and left in duels, being brave and somewhat of a bully. In 1834, by trading on the name of the great man to whom he owed his existence, he was elected chief of a battalion of the National Guards of Saint-Denis, but he was soon suspended for disobedience to orders. In 1840, being absolutely penniless, he began a series of lawsuits against his mother, with the intention of wringing money from her, she having preserved intact the fortune which she had received from the Emperor. He obtained a certain sum from her, and in 1848 seems to have been somewhat better off financially, for he presented himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the republic in competition with Prince Louis Napoleon, with whom, eight years previously, he had endeavored to fight a duel. His claims were put forth in a manifesto beginning, "Citizen Leon, son of the Emperor Napoleon, to the French people." The second empire reestablished, Leon obtained from Napoleon III. a pension of 6,000 francs, and the payment of Napoleon's first legacy to him of 225,000 francs, but that did not content him, and, in 1853, he claimed 572,000 francs, and four years later, sued the Minister of Public Works for 500,000 francs more. Not a year passed that he did not bring forward some claim or petition, and the civil list paid his debts five or six times, but he remained impecunious and irrepressible until the time of his death, which did not occur until April 15, 1881.

V.

It is well known that Napoleon, some years afterward, had another natural son by Mme. Walewska, who, in many respects, is the most interesting personality associated with him. By birth a Leczinska, she was married at 16 to a man of 70, and there seems to be no doubt that she gave herself to the Emperor in the hope of securing the independence of her country. At first, however, she refused to attend a ball given at Warsaw in the Emperor's honor, and remained unmoved even by the argument of Prince Joseph Poniatowski that, under heaven, she might perhaps be an instrument for the rehabilitation of Poland. Hardly had the Prince left her when the chief representatives of her country were announced. They were statesmen whose authority was based on public esteem; they foresaw what benefit might accrue to Poland through Napoleon's admiration for one of its daughters, and they joined in urging her to accept the invitation. Their entreaties, however, had failed to shake her determination to remain at home, when, unexpectedly, her husband arrived and came to their rescue. He saw in the invitation nothing but a compliment to his own rank and services, and promptly accepted for his wife. Almost with tears, Marie Walewska pleaded to be permitted to remain at home, but her husband ridiculed her fears and finally commanded her to go. She went to the ball attired in a severely simple dress of white satin and with a garland of leaves for her only ornament. When Napoleon approached, her neighbors nudged her as a sign that she should rise, and standing, her eyes fixed upon the ground and strangely pale, she awaited his pleasure. "White upon white is not becoming, madame," he said aloud. Then added in a low tone: "This is scarcely the reception I expected." He paused and looked at her attentively, but, as she made no reply, he passed on, and a few moments afterward left the ballroom. Scarcely had she reached home before her maid handed her a note which she had some difficulty in deciphering. "I have seen, admired, and desired but you this evening. A kind and prompt answer alone can calm the impatient ardor of N." Madame Walewska crushed the note in her hand, disgusted and revolted by its language. "There is no answer," she said to her maid, who departed to convey her mistress's reply to the bearer of the note. But the messenger who waited in the street was no other than Prince Poniatowski, who did not purpose to be so easily beaten, and who, entering the house, followed the servant to her mistress's room so quickly that Mme. Walewska had barely time to lock the door. From behind the closed door she informed the Prince that her decision was immutable, and, although at the risk of a scandal, he alternately implored and threatened, he was at last obliged to go away discomfited and angry. Scarcely was she awake on the following morning, when her maid handed her a second note, which she did not open, but, sealing it up in an envelope with the first, ordered that both should be handed to the messenger. Before noon, however, her drawing room was crowded with all the chief personages of her nation; and her husband, to prove that he was not jealous, as had been artfully insinuated to him, conducted his countrymen into his wife's apartment, and, in their presence, insisted that she should allow herself to be presented to the Emperor, and should attend a dinner to which she had been bidden. To this the Poles agreed in chorus, and one of their number, an old man who was highly respected, fixed his eyes sharply upon her and said in an impressive manner: "I hope that, between this and the date set for the dinner, your indisposition will have disappeared, for you cannot refuse the invitation without laying yourself open to the charge of lack of love for your country." How could this inexperienced girl, alone, without a friend to counsel her, defend herself against so many? She did her best, but the pressure was too great. Soon afterward, one of her most intimate *friends*, a Polish noblewoman, brought to her a letter signed by the most prominent men in the nation, and members of the provisional Government which had recently been formed at Warsaw. This letter read as follows: "Madame: Slight causes sometimes produce great results, and women from time immemorial have excercised great influence over the world's politics; ancient history as well as modern bears testimony to this fact, and, as long as men are dominated by passion, women can sway them. Had you been a man, you would gladly have given your life to your country; as a woman, you cannot serve as her defender, but there are other sacrifices which you can make for Poland and which you should gladly impose upon yourself, however painful they may be. Do you imagine that it was for love that Esther gave herself to Ahasuerus? She sacrificed herself for her people, and to her everlasting honor she saved them. Make history record as much for your glory and our happiness." Thus was every spring brought into play to precipitate the downfall of this young woman, who, inexperienced and guileless, had neither a husband in whom she could confide, nor parents to defend her, nor friends anxious to save her. Her country and her religion were invoked to force her compliance and, to complete the work, she was eventually made to read the following note from Napoleon: "There are moments when the weight of my rank seems more than I can bear, and I am now living through such a period. How can I satisfy the desires and needs of a hungry heart which longs to throw itself at your feet and is arrested only by weighty considerations that paralyze its most ardent desires and deprive me of freedom of action? Oh, if you would but come to me! Come to me, and all your desires shall be fulfilled, and your country will be dearer to me when you have taught me to love it.—N." Nevertheless, in an interview to which she ultimately consented, Mme. Walewska trembled and shrank before Napoleon, until, in an outburst of excitement, real or feigned, he thundered: "I want you to understand that I will force you to love me. I have already lifted the name of your country from the dust, and it is thanks to me that it has not been wiped from the face of the earth. I will do more—but remember that, even as I crush this watch in my hand, so shall your country and all your hopes be crushed if you push me to extremes, repulse my love, and refuse me yours." Overcome by this violence, Mme. Walewska fainted. When she recovered consciousness she no longer belonged to herself. In the liaison which followed she met with no censure from her countrymen. Aside from her husband, whom she had been obliged to leave, all hastened to do her honor, not as a favorite, but as a victim. Her husband's own sisters became her chaperons, and, had she so desired, she could have maintained almost regal state in Warsaw. As a matter of fact she shunned society, lived unpretentiously, and gave no cause for enmity. Consequently, though less flattered, she received the more sympathy.

VI.

We are told that Napoleon was alive to the fact that Mme. Walewska did not love him for himself, and that her country held the first place in her heart; indeed, she never tried to make him think otherwise. The result was that he who usually mistrusted any one whom he suspected of a desire to make use of him, placed implicit confidence in this simple, sincere, and earnest girl; he knew her to be so far above the ordinary ambitions of women that he longed to content her, and keenly regretted his inability to bestow the one boon she coveted. "Rest assured," he frequently said to her, "that my promises to you shall be fulfilled. I have already forced Russia to relinquish what she has usurped; time will do the rest, but you must be patient; politics is a cord which snaps if subjected to too great a strain, and the time is not yet ripe for the realization of your hopes. In the meanwhile your politicians must work, your country must be organized; you are rich in patriots and can command plenty of brave arms—honor and courage start from every pore of you Poles—but that will not suffice: there must be great unanimity." When the Emperor was about to leave Poland without having fulfilled the agreement for whose sake Mme. Walewska had given herself to him, she refused to follow him to Paris, and announced her intention of retiring into some remote corner of her country, there to await in sadness and solitude the performance of his vows. It was now his turn to supplicate: "I know," he said, "that you can live without me, that your heart is not mine; but you are good, kind, and generous; can you, then, find it in your heart to deprive me of my only happiness—of the few moments that I spend each day with you; you are my sole joy, the one being who brightens my life, and yet I am supposed to be the most highly blessed of mortals." His tone was so bitter and his smile so sad, that, overwhelmed by a new sentiment of pity for this master of the world, she promised to follow him to Paris. Thenceforth continued this mysterious liaison, to which Napoleon was sometimes unfaithful, but which, nevertheless, was the great passion of his life. It is known that during the campaign of 1809 Mme. Walewska went to Vienna, where she became enceinte. After peace was declared she went to Walewice for her confinement, and there, on May 4, 1810, was born her son by Napoleon, upon whom was forthwith bestowed the title of Count of the Empire. The fact is noteworthy that in the midst of the terrible strain incident to the campaign of France in 1814, Napoleon, on the eve of a battle, thought of Mme. Walewska and endeavored to secure her future. He charged the Treasurer-General to settle 50,000 francs a year upon the young Count Walewski in such fashion that in the event of his death his mother should be his heir. Mme. Walewska knew nothing of all this, and there never was a more disinterested heart than hers. During the last days at Fontainebleau, when the Emperor, abandoned by all, had sought to find in death a refuge which destiny refused him, she hastened to his side, and spent an entire night in an antechamber, awaiting his commands. Exiled to Elba, he in vain besought his wife, Marie Louise, to follow him, but Mme. Walewska went there, accompanied by her son, and spent a day with the Emperor at the hermitage of Marciana. From the moment she learned of Napoleon's return to Paris in 1815 she was among the most devoted of the women who visited the Elysée, and, at Malmaison, remained faithful to him amid his final and irreparable misfortunes. It was not till he had gone to St. Helena that she thought herself free. M. Walewski having died in 1814, she married two years afterward Gen. Count d'Ornano, who had been one of the bravest officers of the Grand Army. Her union with him was brief, for she died within the year. One of the Emperor's companions at St. Helena tells us that the news of Mme. Walewska's marriage affected him keenly, for he had preserved a warm affection for her, and could not reconcile himself to the thought that one whom he had loved should care for another. In his will the Emperor expressed his desire that his son Alexandre Walewski should enter the French army; his career as a soldier, writer, diplomat, and statesman was a brilliant one, culminating, as it is well known, in the occupation of high office under Napoleon III.

Life in Ancient Egypt.

The Messrs. Macmillan have rendered a service to American readers by publishing, under the title of *Life in Ancient Egypt*, a translation of ADOLF ERMAN'S "Aegypten," the well-known German work to which there has been no counterpart in English since the publication of Wilkinson's book, which later discoveries have rendered obsolete. The translator, Helen Mary Tirard, tells us that in the present English edition a few notes have been added, referring to researches more recent than those embodied in the German original, and numerous illustrations have been inserted which did not embellish the German text. It should be understood that the author of this work confines himself to the treatment of those periods of ancient Egyptian history which have been styled respectively the "Old Empire," the "Middle Empire," and the "New Empire." Before defining these terms, we should say that the chronological system accepted by the author is that of Edward Meyer, who places the first king of the fourth dynasty almost a thousand years later than the date preferred by Brugsch.

I.

This starting point being accepted, the so-called Old Empire, which comprised the fourth, fifth, and sixth dynasties, begins in B. C. 2830 and ends in B. C. 2530; the Middle Empire, including the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, begins about B. C. 2130 and lasts two hundred years. Then come the Hyksos, or shepherd kings, after which the New Empire, comprehending the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties, covers the period from 1530 to 1050 B. C. It is, of course, understood that before the time of the fourth dynasty, when the Old Empire begins, Egypt had already been united into one kingdom, but this was evidently not the original political state of the country. There is no doubt that it had previously been divided into two parts, the frontier being a little above Memphis. We know not under which king the "two countries" were united (they were not really merged into one country), but probably it was under the rulers of upper Egypt, whose titles alone were used by the later kings of the whole country. It may have been Menes, of whom the Egyptian legend tells that he was the first king of the human race; that he came from Thinis in upper Egypt, and that he founded Memphis. In this case Egypt, by the time of the advent of the fourth dynasty, would, for at least a space of three centuries, have been united into one kingdom. It is interesting to note how the period of the Old Empire, which has been rightly termed the Pyramid Age, appeared to the later Egyptians. Under the New Empire—some twelve or fifteen hundred years afterward—men looked back to it as to the dim past, a time long before the classical epoch, and if they wished to represent anything as having happened very long ago, for instance, the production of a sacred book, they preferred to ascribe it to one of those ancient rulers. Six or seven centuries later, to the men of the renaissance time of Psammetichus, on the contrary, the Old Empire appeared to be the finest period of Egyptian history; they delighted to imitate the customs of that epoch, even in undesirable ways, such as the difficult orthography. Then, again, the populace of still later date, and the Greek travellers informed by them, looked back to the pyramid age as to a time when the lower orders were greatly oppressed by forced labor. Lastly, to the modern world the old Egyptian Empire appears to have been a period of youthful power and undisturbed development; for not only do the tomb pictures show no dislike of this earthly life, but art itself is fresher than in any subsequent era. Later artists were never able to achieve works so realistic as the statues of the Scribe of the Louvre or of King Chephren.

In the 400 years or more that elapsed between the Old and the Middle Empire we know not with certainty what happened, but it is probable that the East of the Delta was governed by a mighty race of rulers, who represented the old or aboriginal inhabitants of this part of the Nile country. The author of this book believes that to them we owe the remarkable un-Egyptian statues and sphinxes generally considered as belonging to the later time of the Hyksos invasion. In Thebes, meanwhile, there ruled another dynasty called the eleventh, and the last of their race seems to have regained possession of the whole kingdom. The Middle Empire begins with the twelfth dynasty, whose first King tried to reorganize the country, with the result that he and his successors succeeded in raising Egypt to a higher level of civilization than it had reached before. Not only were tombs and temples built, but structures of general utility. It was a king of this dynasty, for example, who planned the great reservoir in the Fayum usually called Lake Moeris. Literature and art also flourished, and, for the first time, as far as we know, the Egyptians made foreign conquests, and had frequent intercourse with Syria and South Arabia. In short, the two hundred years of the twelfth dynasty formed a period of such prosperity that it is easy to understand how the later Egyptians looked back to it as to a national classical epoch. The Middle Empire ended with the thirteenth dynasty, after which, under the Shepherd Kings or Hyksos of the Greeks, a foreign race of nomads broke into the Delta from the northeast and conquered Asia. Apparently they found that although they could conquer they could not govern the country, and only barbarian garrisons remained to show that Egypt was in the hands of foreigners. These were driven out by the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, with which the New Empire begins. During the Hyksos period Egypt seems to have gained strength, like a field that has lain fallow, for she now rose to such prosperity and power as she had never experienced before nor has since. Her strength now showed itself not only in gigantic buildings, as in earlier days, but in foreign conquests, for the Pharaohs of the New Empire carried their arms as far as the Euphrates and into the distant Soudan. Hitherto isolated, Egyptians rose all at once to be a power in the world, and they discovered to their astonishment that their neighbors, the Hittites and the Chaldeans, possessed a civilization equal, or nearly equal, to their own. The New Empire vanishes with the twentieth dynasty, after which Egypt passes for about a century under the sway of the priest kings, after which, under the great King Sheshonk, it fell into the hands of the Lydian mercenaries, whose chiefs had already played a powerful part in the State. From this time, for a considerable period, Egypt proper became completely Lydianized, but the adherents of the old priest kings fled into Ethiopia, where there arose an independent kingdom, with Egyptian civilization, in which the priestly power was so supreme that the King himself was obliged to bow to it. Two hundred years later, 728 B. C., Shabaka, King of Ethiopia, left his capital, Napapa, situated in the nineteenth degree of latitude, and completed the conquest of the whole of Egypt. He would have penetrated into Syria, had not the power of the Assyrians caused his scheme to miscarry. Now began the conflict between the Assyrian and Egypto-Ethiopian kingdom, which ended in 662 B. C. with Egypt becoming an Assyrian province. The power of the invaders, however, did not last long, for eight years later Psammetichus, who was descended from the Lybian chiefs of Sais, succeeded with the help of Greek mercenaries in driving the Assyrians out of Egypt. Psammetichus was the founder of the famous twenty-sixth dynasty, which introduced a renaissance period and under which Egypt rose again to prosperity after the troubles she had endured for many centuries. On the one hand the Kings of this dynasty favored the settlements of the Greeks, and on the other they endeavored to reëstablish the ancient Egyptian institutions. They tried to link themselves with the Old Empire by using the same royal titles, the same language, and even the same orthography in the inscriptions. Art revived, but, though the master works of this time possess great elegance, one feels that the men who created them were leading an artificial life. This dream of a new Pharaonic kingdom lasted little more than a century; Cambyses struck it in the year 525 B. C., and it collapsed at the first blow. Egypt then became a Persian province, and, although rebellions were temporarily successful, they were all ultimately suppressed. In the end Egypt was subdued by Alexander, and, at the division of his empire, fell to the share of Ptolemy. Finally, in the year 30 B. C., the country became a Roman province. It is characteristic that during this long period of foreign rule the priesthood kept up the fiction of the existence of an independent Egyptian kingdom. Darius and Alexander, Ptolemy and Hadrian, are all described in the temples as true Pharaohs. Even in the year A. D. 250 Decius is spoken of as Pharaoh in a hieroglyphic inscription written at a time when the greater part of the Egyptian nation had embraced Christianity. We have hastily run over the whole stretch of Egyptian history, but we repeat that it is only three periods, those, namely, those of the Old, the Middle, and the New Empires, which are examined in this volume.

II.

In the several chapters of this capacious work will be found concisely set forth nearly all that is yet known regarding the religion, the political and social organization, the science, the literature, the agriculture, the industries, the arts, the traffic, and the family life of the ancient Egyptians during the three most important stages of their evolution. One is embarrassed to choose from the mass of interesting detail, but we select what the author has to say regarding the discoveries and explorations made by the subjects of the elder Pharaohs in a southward direction. There is no doubt that in Nubia, then known as Ethiopia, the ancient Egyptians really fulfilled a mission and by degrees civilized a barbarian country. This is, however, as far as we know, the only quarter of the South or Southeast where the Egyptians succeeded in such an attempt. The other races of lower civilization with whom they came in contact were either nomadic tribes or were so remote that it was quite impossible to develop really close relations. This was particularly the case with the incense countries of the Red Sea, to a consideration of which the author devotes considerable space. There is no doubt that the two countries designated in the inscriptions as the Divine Land and the Land of Punt were considered of old by the Egyptians as the original sources of incense, and other precious things. Definite ideas, however, can scarcely be attached to the names of these countries. They were general terms, such as are still created by commerce; for instance, the word Levant of modern times. The Divine Land signified originally only the East, where God, that is Re, appeared daily; in common parlance, the term was applied apparently to the mountainous desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, to the peninsula of Sinai, and also doubtless to the northern and central part of Arabia. Punt, on the other hand, evidently signified the more tropical coasts of the Red Sea, the south of Arabia, and the Somali coast. It is certain that the Egyptians of very early times were in communication with the Divine Land; there, in fact, lay the quarries of Hammamat, and, through that country, the way led to the Red Sea, and, therefore, to the mines of Sinai and to the incense country. Apparently, ever since the time of Snefru, the "treasurers of the God" and their subordinate officials travelled along this road, and in all probability by almost the same route as is taken by the caravans of modern times, the route of Quoser. In the course of centuries, the starting and arrival points alone seem to have been somewhat changed. In the early ages, and even in Greek times, travellers started from Koptos; in the middle ages, from the neighboring town of Qus, while, at the present day, Kenah has become the starting point of these caravans. Further, though the sea is now reached at the harbor of Quoser, in Greek times the so-called white haven was the goal of their journey, and at an earlier epoch it was situated in the Wadi Gasus, somewhat to the north of Quoser, at a place called Sauu. The Egyptians built a fortress there to protect this important point from the barbarians. So much for the Divine Land. There is proof also in an interesting description that the Egyptians of the eleventh dynasty made voyages to Punt. But even to the Egyptians of the Middle Empire the incense countries appeared to be fabulous realms. A few centuries later, under the New Empire, however, the mist of romance cleared away; even the common people could no longer believe the country of Punt to be an island inhabited by snakes, after the great Queen Hatasu, the Catherine II. of the Pharaohs, had caused it to be represented in her great temple, with its inhabitants, its villages, its plants, and its animals. Among the things brought back by her expedition were thirty-one growing incense trees. It was this achievement that particularly excited emulation, for her successor, Thothmes III., also received from the inhabitants of Punt a growing incense tree, and when, three centuries later, King Rameses III. caused great ships to visit the countries of "the great Sea of the reversed water," that is South Arabia, these trees were again considered to be a very important part of the spoil that the expedition brought back from the Divine Land and from Punt. Nevertheless, the commerce of Egypt with the incense countries scarcely seems to have left any lasting effect on either side; a few barbarian names for various sorts of incense made their way into the Egyptian language, and the curious figure of the God Bess, who, from the time of the New Empire, was honored in Egypt as a protecting genius, probably owed his introduction into Egypt to this trade. The influence which these countries of the Red Sea exercised on Egypt was quite insignificant compared to that exerted by Palestine and Syria.

A trace of the intercourse with these neighboring northern countries can be found under the Old Empire, for even then a kind of bread was employed which had been borrowed from the Semitic nation. A story which gives an accurate description of Bedouin life presupposes the existence during the twelfth dynasty of active trade between Egypt and Palestine. The northern countries, however, were first really opened up under the New Empire, through the conquering expeditions of the great kings of the eighteenth dynasty. From the monuments and writings of this period we obtain a view of anterior Asia, which, although in many particulars obscure or incomplete, is of priceless value for history. Thus, we learn that in northern Syria, at any rate for a time, the Pharaohs were opposed by powerful States, especially by the nation of the Chetas, or Hittites, about whom a good deal is in course of being discovered. To the northeast, where the Egyptians struck the Assyrian civilization, the State of Naharena, on the Euphrates, was usually their furthermost limit. Even beyond that point they traded with the mountainous countries between the Euphrates and the Tigris, now called Sindjar; but with Assyria itself the Pharaohs of the New Empire never seem to have come into contact, and, in the same way, Babylonia appears to have been unknown to them. Even for the Euphrates they had no fixed name; either they called it the "Water of Naharena," or, surprised by the direction of its stream, which appeared unnatural to dwellers on the Nile, they spoke of it as that "reversed water on which one voyages to the northward in going upstream." The names of places belonging to this part of the world which have come down to us in Egyptian inscriptions may be counted by hundreds. Most of them are quite unrecognizable, although, luckily, we are able to pick out some of the names of the famous cities of Syria. Thus, we read of Damascus and Beyrout, of Byblos and of Tyre, "the city in the sea to which water is brought by ships;" the neighboring cities of Gaza and Joppa are also often mentioned by the Egyptians. It would be interesting to know whether the communications of the New Empire extended further to the westward, especially to the Greek islands, or whether the ships which Rameses II. and Rameses III. sent forth to "bring back the gifts of the country," always coasted along the Syrian shore only. One might almost assume that the latter was the case, for the western countries are always spoken of in general terms, such as "the islands of the sea." Cyprus alone, which lies close to countries well known to the Egyptians, bears a definite name.

M. W. H.

WATER FOR FUTURE NEW YORK.

Lake Erie as the Ideal Reservoir. A System for Supplying Many Great Cities.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: The question of using the waters of the great lakes as a supply for the cities of Albany, the Hudson Valley, New York, Brooklyn, and western Jersey, has engaged my leisure attention for some time, and has led me to believe that it is not only possible, but practicable.

The design of this paper is not to point out the details by which the engineering difficulties may be overcome (that would follow after more perfect information), but to show from all the information at hand that it is possible to build a gravity system from the great lakes to the city of New York, and the probable route.

Col. J. T. Fanning, M. Am. Soc. C. E., in his very able paper on using the Adirondack lakes as a supply for New York and the Hudson Valley cities, estimates that it will require in 1930 1,300,000,000 gallons of water to supply these great centres, and Mr. B. S. Church, M. Am. Soc. C. E., has placed the figures for New York alone at 400,000,000. If the increase in population of the cities of western Jersey shall be as great as in New York and Brooklyn, 200,000,000 gallons per day would not be an outside estimate as the needed supply in 1930. Therefore it is safe to say that it will require 1,500,000,000 gallons per day to be taken from some source to supply the districts mentioned above in the middle of the twentieth century.

The capacity of the Croton watershed will not exceed 250,000,000 gallons daily, and to insure this amount the Quaker Dam and other reservoirs will have to be constructed to store the water through the dry season. Col. Fanning estimates, in the paper above referred to, that the greatest amount of water that can be taken from the Adirondack lakes is 1,392,000,000 gallons daily, and his plan contemplates the construction of one or more large storage reservoirs. The question of storage does not enter in any way into the question of the supply from the great lakes.

The present supply for the cities of New York and Brooklyn and the west Jersey cities is obtained from the Croton watershed, ground beds in East New York, and the Hackensack and Passaic rivers. The watershed of all these sources of supply, except on Long Island, is built over, and they are the natural sewage drainage of a large population. It is not proposed to enter into the subject of the contamination of water under these circumstances, as that has been discussed in the public prints and elsewhere, and is well understood by the majority of the public generally. Even if it can be satisfactorily established that water, after being aerated and filtered by artificial and natural means becomes chemically pure, still there is in the mind of every person a natural antipathy to using water for daily and culinary purposes that has been contaminated by sewage. The question, therefore, arises where to obtain this great supply of water in its greatest purity.

According to the gauging made by the United States engineers, the average flow of water above the falls in the Niagara River is found to be 10,000,000 cubic feet per minute; or, in United States gallons, there is discharged over the Falls of Niagara every day 107,712,000,000 gallons. It is proposed to take from this river 1,500,000,000 gallons daily, leaving still flowing over the falls every day 106,212,000,000 gallons. The supply, therefore, is practically inexhaustible, and the effect of taking 1,500,000,000 gallons daily from such a large body of water as Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence is so small that it cannot be calculated.

After I had commenced my investigations of this subject I learned that Col. Fanning had written the paper which I have referred to, and, at my request, he kindly sent me a copy of it. Adopting his suggestion, it seems to me an open conduit would probably be the best method, being excavated in the high ground and crossing the valleys and streams by stone or iron viaducts, and covered its entire length by a substantial building, thereby lessening the evaporation in summer, and being some protection against very thick ice in winter. This would also be a protection against falling leaves and dust, and prevent the conduit being used as a receptacle for garbage and other matter that might otherwise be thrown into it.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no complete topographical map of the State of New York extant, and therefore it is difficult in a paper of this kind to be exact as to distances and elevations; but from a careful study of the Erie Canal elevations, railroad profiles, and other satisfactory data, including a geological profile of the State of New York, from Lake Erie to the Atlantic, made in 1822 (and now in possession of S. E. Babcock, C. E., late chief engineer of Little Falls water works), I am led to believe that the route of the conduit would substantially be as follows: Leaving Lake Erie at the most convenient point near Buffalo, where the water would not be contaminated by sewage of that city, and running easterly through the counties of Erie, Niagara, Orleans, Monroe or Livingston, Wayne, Cayuga, Onondaga, Madison, Herkimer, Montgomery, and Schenectady, to the vicinity of the city of Schenectady. Leaving Lake Erie at an elevation above tide of 568 feet, and reaching this point, a distance of about 200 miles, at an elevation of 250 feet above tide water, would give an average fall of 1.59 feet to the mile.

At Little Falls it may be necessary to construct a tunnel about two miles long. From Schenectady the line would run southeast through Albany county to Coeymans, and thence along the plateau that rises from the Hudson, southerly through the counties of Albany, Greene, Ulster and Orange, to Rockland Lake in the town of Clarkstown in Rockland county. The surface of Rockland Lake is about five hundred acres in extent, and is one hundred and forty-six feet above the Hudson and distant from Jersey City about thirty-three miles. This lake with its watershed, and the village situated on it, which has a population of less than five hundred people, should be purchased, and the lake used as a storage reservoir for the Jersey cities. This point is about 115 miles from Albany county, making the length of the conduit to this point 407 miles, with an average fall of 1.01 feet to the mile, and of .90 feet to the mile from Schenectady to Rockland Lake.

From some point in Rockland or Orange county an iron conduit should be carried across the Hudson to the Quaker Dam, which is purposed to be 200 feet above mean tide, and to the invert of the Croton aqueduct, which is 140 feet above tide. The point of departure of this iron conduit should be at such an elevation above tide that either or both of the points above could be reached by gravity.

In the State of New York the lands rise southerly toward the Pennsylvania line, and following this line, after leaving Buffalo and running northerly via Lockport on the line of the present canal, the line proposed has a generally easterly course bearing gradually south, and running along the south side of the Mohawk Valley. From the plateau above the Hudson River the hills slope quite precipitately to the west, and, through Greene and Ulster counties, there would probably be a good deal of rock cutting, or a necessity for one or more tunnels. In the entire route there are no large streams to cross except the Genesee and Seneca rivers, and the line would run north of Seneca, Cayuga, and Skaneateles lakes and south of Oneida Lake. If, however, the contour of the country should be such that in following the grade the line would be carried further south through the centre of the State, in the region of the chain of small lakes, then these lakes can be used as reservoirs and the conduit carried forward from their eastern banks. No question of mill privileges or canal rights would arise, as the conduit would supply as much water at one point as it would take from the other. There are no large streams or gorges on the Hudson River described or referred to in the data I have obtained, so that there do not seem to be any great engineering difficulties to be overcome in the eastern part of the State. The rolling country in the western part of the State may make the line longer or more expensive, as it may be determined to span or run around the head of the valleys.

The writer believes that the waters of the great lakes have been stored where they are (in the centre of the most populous district of the United States) for the purpose of a water supply for the great centres of civilization, and he looks forward, in the first quarter of the coming century, to see the waters of these great basins used as a water supply not only for the cities above named, but even extending as far as Philadelphia.

JOHN YOUNG, M. Am. Soc. C. E.

GENESEO, N. Y., Oct. 4.

True History of Huricosco.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: I take my hat off to you for rising to second my nomination for the Presidency of the Alabama State Senate, but I must beg you to correct the spelling of my name. There may not be anything in a name, but as long as a fellow has one he likes to have it spelled right. Mine is spelled "Hu-ric-os-co." Now, my dear sir, I know you are curious to learn the origin of such a name, and I will tell you the tale thereof.

My grandfather came to the Alabama territory from South Carolina, and settled first in the country of the Muskogee Indians before the Creek war commenced. My father was then a youth, and he and another white lad, a friend, were much with the young Indians on hunting and fishing excursions. As is the custom with the Indians they gave my father and his friend each a name. The first they called Io-lo-li-o-nete, and the latter Huricosco. In a few years the Creek war followed. If familiar with Alabama history you will remember Jerymiah Austill as one of the three white men who fought the canoe battle on the Alabama River. My father's friend lost his life in that war. Years afterward my father had a boy to name, and he gave him the Indian name of his former pioneer playmate, and that is how it came that I am, your obedient servant,

MOBILE, Oct. 8. HURICOSCO AUSTILL.